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DECEMBER 16-31, 1999 *Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair* **VOL. 6, NO. 22**

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Be Glad That They're Around:

11 Who Make a Difference

Here at CounterPunch we get lots of calls from readers this time of year asking: where are the good groups? Where can I send a year-end check and know that the money will be well spent, not recycled into a fat executive salary or an annoying direct mail campaign. There are many such groups out there; indeed, there is a vibrant and thriving grassroots movement on a whole range of issues. Unfortunately, we can't bring all of them to your attention. But once or twice a year we devote the pages of CounterPunch to a survey of what these organizations are up to. Here's our end of the year list of good groups. They all deserve your support and, if you can spare it, your money.

Colombia Support Network
PO Box 1505
Madison, WI 53701
http://www.igc.org/csn/

While the media focused on Kosovo, the Clinton administration was configuring another war, this one much closer to home. Using the drug war as a pretext, the US military has been funneling weapons and advisers to Colombia. This fall Clinton reallocated $200 million of the drug interdiction budget to the Pentagon for military operations in Colombia. One of the few domestic groups to raise this issue is the Colombia Support Network, based in Madison, Wisconsin. Overseen by Cecilia Zarate, the CSN has put the spotlight on the brutal crackdowns on dissidents in Colombia by the Colombian military, how many of the military officers have been trained by the US. They have translated for the US press numerous accounts of massacres and brutality from people in Colombia. CSN has also sent delegations of US citizens to Colombia as observers. "We are steadily building a grassroots movement against the war in Colombia," Cecilia Zarate told us. "Americans have a voice, because to a large extent the US Pentagon is driving the policies in Colombia."

Jubilee 2000/USA
222 E. Capitol Street, NE,
Washington, DC 20003-1036
http://www.j2000usa.org/

One of the first big direct action events in Seattle occurred on Monday evening when more than 4,000 people gathered in a cold,

(**Good Groups** *continued on page 7*)

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Our Little Secrets

Citizen McCain: The Fraud Continues

All evidence to the contrary, in the main stream press John McCain still maintains the reputation of a feisty independent with no keener ambition than to slash away at Pentagon pork for the benefit of the taxpayer. McCain chose December 7, Pearl Harbor day, to deliver his big speech on defense, with his photogenic podium the aircraft carrier Intrepid, now a museum, in New York.

His comments offered an instructive insight into the real John McCain—friend and ally of profligate waste. Most of McCain's remarks could have been lifted from any Republican stump speech of the last 20 years—"bombers older than the men who fly them.... "12,000 enlisted personnel" forced to accept "food stamps to feed their families"... "ill-considered reduction in the carrier fleet"... a pledge to increase defense spending, and so on. Given that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were on hand for the occasion, it should have come as no surprise that the Senator carefully eschewed an attack on theft and waste by our senior warriors. Instead, McCain blamed congress for what he called the "disgrace" of the recently enacted defense budget, although he knows full well that the rules of military pork acquisition require that one of the services submits a boondoggle as a "requirement" somewhere deep in the small print, whereupon a senator or congressman slips it into the bill, duly exciting furious denunciation from liberals for this expenditure on items "the Pentagon does not want".

McCain did say that $6 billion of the new budget is "waste", though without citing specific cases. On the other hand, he was very specific in his support of what is potentially the greatest boondoggle of them all — missile defense. After dutiful references to currently modish specters such as cyber-warfare — "tiny fiber optic threads" carrying "viruses as incapacitating as an armed attack" and the menace of our old "rogue state" friends, the North Koreans, Iranians and Iraqis, McCain declared that "ballistic missile defense is now a national priority, not just another Pentagon program". That being the case, McCain vowed he would shred the ABM treaty, a "treaty that has become a relic of the Cold War" whether the Russians and the Chinese liked it or not, and get on with the program.

So McCain, frugal guardian of the public purse, is happy to commit to spending $120 billion (the probable eventual cost of a deployed system) on a weapon that won't work against a threat that doesn't exist. Only North Korea, a state that probably will have disappeard by the time the system is deployed, shows any sign of developing an ICBM program, and even that keeps failing its tests.

McCain's true posture on wastage of public money, as revealed by actions as opposed to rhetoric, are already familiar to denizens of the Senate. In 1998 he made a stirring speech denouncing $200 million worth of pork in the military construction budget and then sat on his hands without resorting to any of the tools available to Senators for sidetracking the relevant appropriation. This year, he engaged in a similar exercise in blowhardry. He moved an amendment to the defense appropriations bill restoring $2.5 billion for "readiness", i.e., spare parts, which had been removed by his colleagues in order to free up money for choice procurement projects.

Once again McCain made a noble speech on the real needs of our fighting men and women and denounced (without naming names of course) those who put political advantage ahead of patriotism. Once again, he sat down after twenty minutes and made no further efforts through schmooze or filibuster to secure passage of his amendment. "Vintage McCain," muttered one congressional Friend of CounterPunch, "missing in action again."

The Lady and the Picket Line

So did HRC cross that picket line we mentioned two issues ago? You'll recall that SEIU Local 285 was going to picket a Boston fundraiser hosted for HRC by owners of a nursing home chain the union is organizing. The White House certainly paid close attention to the possibility of a picket and HRC's office let it be known she would not cross one, but in this case she hadn't the option, since the fundraiser was in the Park Plaza in Boston and so the local put up merely an informational picket at the front entry, with a giant billboard saying "Hey Hillary, Democratic fundraisers Elaine and Gerry Schuster are union busters". HRC entered discreetly through the back with her Secret Service entourage.

Friends of the Schusters have pleaded with the SIEU local at least to remove Elaine's name from this banner, which will be displayed at all fundraisers given by the Schusters. They say Gerry is the villain and Elaine a mere bystander. Frank Borges, secretary-treasurer of Local 285, says "If Elaine would denounce her husband as a scumbag, we'd take her name off". Thus far Elaine has declined the opportunity.

On Friday, December 10 the first lady addressed a breakfast meetings sponsored by the Riverside Church in New York. Attending the meeting was Cheri Honkala, director of the Kensington Welfare Rights Union and national spokesperson for the Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign and we have this account from her. After HRC finished her talk on poverty, Honkala went to the microphone and asked the first question. "Given your concern about homelessness, and your emphasis in your speech on education being one of the root causes of poverty, what is your response to the impact of welfare reform

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Published twice monthly except August, 22 issues a year:
$40 individuals,
$100 institutions,
$30 student/low-income
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CounterPunch
3220 N. St., NW, PMB 346
Washington, DC, 20007-2829
1-800-840-3683 (phone)
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on the large number of recipients being thrown out of colleges and universities?" The first lady responded that she was indeed a supporter of the passage of the new welfare reform law. The next question addressed Ms. Clinton's position on the death penalty. In a room full of religious leaders, the first lady responded that she was a hesitant supporter, but indeed a supporter of the death penalty.

Since HRC has famously advertised her feelings of empathy with Eleanor Roosevelt, with whom she has channeled, we cannot resist quoting this testimony to the contrast between the political sympathies and instincts of the two. We were reading Myles Horton's Autobiography (one of our 100 Best, noted on page 4) and came across this passage describing a joint visit of Eleanor Roosevelt and Rosa Parks to the Highlander Center: "When we got there I introduced them by saying, 'It's a pleasure to be privileged to introduce the first lady of the land to the first lady of the South.' That's the way I thought about them, and that's how I introduced them. Well, Mrs. Roosevelt asked her about being at Highlander, and what she'd done in Montgomery, and then she asked, 'Have you been called a Communist, yet, Mrs. Parks?' When Rosa answered yes, Mrs. Roosevelt said, 'I supposed Myles told you when you were at Highlander that you'd be called a Communist.' Rosa told her I hadn't warned her, and Mrs. Roosevelt criticized me for not telling her. I said, 'If I'd know what she was going to do, I'd have told her. But when she was at Highlander, she said she wasn't going to do anything. She said she came from the cradle of the Confederacy, and the white people wouldn't let the black people do anything, and besides, the black people hadn't been willing to stick together, so she didn't think she'd do anything. I didn't see any reason to tell a person who wasn't going to do anything that she'd be branded a Communist because I knew she'd never be called a Communist if she didn't do anything. If I'd known she was going to start the civil rights movement, I'd have told her.' And Rosa said, 'Yes, he told me later on. After I got arrested.' I did. I went down and talked to her, because I knew she was going to get it. Mrs. Roosevelt was so down-to-earth and practical; no fuss or feathers about her. Franklin D. was different. He never got beyond a kind of political use of working people, and he didn't have any understanding of class problems."

WHO WON IN SEATTLE?

Hardly had the tear gas dispersed from the streets of downtown Seattle before an acrid struggle broke out as to who should claim the spoils. It's still raging. On one side the lib-lab pundits, flacks for John Sweeney and James Hoffa like the Nation's Marc Cooper, Molly Ivins and Jim Hightower, middle-of-the road greens, Michael Moore, a recycle-bin full of policy wonks from the Economic Policy Institute and kindred DC think-tanks, Doug Tompkins (the former czar of sweatshop-made sports clothing who funds the International Forum on Globalization), Medea Benjamin (empress of Global Exchange). On the other side: the true heroes of the Battle in Seattle — the street warriors, the Ruckus Society, the Anarchists, Earth First!ers, the Direct Action Network, radical labor militants such as the folks at Jobs With Justice, hundreds of Longshoremen, Steelworkers Electrical Workers and Teamsters who disgustedly abandoned the respectable, police sanctioned official AFL-CIO parade and joined the street warriors at the barricades in downtown.

In a room full of religious leaders the First Lady said that she was a hesitant supporter, but indeed a supporter, of the death penalty.

At issue here is the liberals' craving to fortify the quasi-myth of Labor Revived — a "progressive coalition" of John Sweeney's AFL-CIO, Hoffa's Teamsters, mainstream greens — poised and ready to recapture the soul of the Democratic Party. The way they're spinning it, the collapse of the WTO talks in Seattle was a glorious triumph for respectable demonstrators, achieve despite the pernicious rabble smashing window, harassing the police and bringing peaceful mainstream protest into disrepute.

The Nation's Marc Cooper announced tremulously that "the media focus on a few broken store windows should not distract from the profundity of what has happened here..." Cooper evoked "a phantasmagorical mix of tens of thousands of peaceful demonstrators... something not seen since the sixties, but in [its] totality unimaginable even then." And what this "unimaginable" thing? "The rough outlines of the much-sought-after progressive coalition — an American version of a 'red-green' alliance."

To the fervid imagination of Michael Moore the union protests in Seattle had an effect on President Bill Clinton akin to that exercised by Jesus Christ on St Paul on the Damascus road: "He completely changed his position [he didn't] and called on all WTO countries to enact laws prohibiting trade with nations that use children in sweatshops and do not honor the rights of all workers to organize a union. Whoa!... So, for Clinton to climb the space needle (or was he chased up it?) and then declare [he didn't] that the human rights of workers were more important than making a buck, well, this was nothing short of Paul being knocked off his horse [he wasn't] and seeing Jesus [he didn't]!...You could almost hear the collective seething of the hundreds of CEOs gathered in Seattle. Their boy Bill — the politician they had bought and paid for ... had betrayed them. You could almost see them reaching for their Palm Pilots to look up the phone number of the Jackal." In this blinding curve of balderdash Moore manages to conflate Christ, Clinton, Paul and JFK, truly a grand slam of liberal hagiography!

It's hard to continue relating this fantasy version of history with a straight face, because it's so divorced from reality, but its official finale was the great labor march of Tuesday, November 30, when some 25,000 union people rallied under the indulgent eyes of the Seattle constabulary in old football stadium, to listen to John Sweeney, James P. Hoffa of the Teamsters and such labor chieftains as Gerald McEntee of the AFSCME. The divorce of rhetoric from reality was best represented by McEntee who reiterated Carl Oglesby's famous line from the 1960s, "We have to name the system". Unlike Oglesby, who was a genuinely radical SDS leader, McEntee has been among the most fervent of all Big Labor's supporters of Clinton-Gore.

When the rally was over, Sweeney and Hoffa led their thousands towards Down-

(OLS *continued on page* 6)

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The CounterPunch One

The editors read all those lists of the hundred best books of the century and didn't care for them. So we've talked to friends, striven to remember what shaped us, informed us, what was innovative and path-breaking. Here's our reckoning. This first instalment is of non-fiction, first published in English. If you have access to a computer, you can go to our website, http://www.counterpunch.org where you'll find the list, plus details of what's in print and what you'll have to find—should you so desire—at your friendly second-hand bookstore or library. (CounterPunch receives a modest donation from every book purchased through our website.)

Edward Abbey—*Desert Solitaire*

Louis Adamic—*Dynamite: a century of class violence in America 1830-1930*

Philip Agee—*Inside the Company: CIA diary*

Christopher Alexander, Sara Ishikawa and Murry Silverstein—*A Pattern Language: towns buildings and constructions*

Jack Anderson—*Confessions of a Muckraker*

Kenneth Anger—*Hollywood Babylon*

Hannah Arendt—*Eichmann in Jerusalem*

David Arora—*Mushrooms Demystified*

Sylvia Ashton-Warner—*Spinster*

James Baldwin—*The Devil Finds Work*

Reyner Banham—*Los Angeles: the four ecologies*

Patrick Beesly—*Room 40*

Paul Baran—*Political Economy of Growth*

Charles Beard —*President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War*

Joseph Borkin—*The Crime and Punishment of IG Farben*

B.A. Botkin—*A treasury of Mississippi River Folk Tales*

Jim Bouten—*Ball Four*

Richard Boyer and Herbert Morais—*Labor's Untold Story*

Marshall Bradley, Fern Bradley and Barbara Ellis—*Rodale's Encyclopaedia of Organic Gardening*

Harry Braverman—*Labor and Monopoly Capitalism: the degradation of work in the 20th Century*

Kathleen Brenzel—*The Western Garden Book*

David Brower—*For the Earth's Sake*

Norman O. Brown—*Life Against Death*

Robert Byron—*The Road to Oxiana*

E.H. Carr—*The Romantic Exiles*

Vernon Carter & Tom Dale—*Topsoil and Civilization*

Allan Chase—*The Legacy of Malthus*

Charles Chaplin—*My Autobiography*

Samuel B. Charters—*The Country Blues*

Noam Chomsky—*The Fateful Triangle*

Claud Cockburn—*I Claud*

Lynwood Carranco and Estell Beard—*Genocide and Vendetta: the Round Valley Wars*

William Cronon—*Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*

Alfred Crosby—*Ecological Imperialism: the biological expansion of Europe, 900-1900*

Elizabeth David—*French Provincial Cooking*

Alexandra David-Neel—*My Journey to Lhasa*

Vine DeLoria, Jr.—*Custer Died for Your Sins*

Angie Debo—*Geronimo: the man, his time, his place*

E.R. Dodds—*The Greeks and the Irrational*

John Dower—*War Without Mercy*

W.E.B. DuBois—*The Souls of Black Folk*

Havelock Ellis—*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*

William Empson—*Seven Types of Ambiquity*

Encyclopaedia Britannica 11th Edition

Shulamith Firestone—*The Dialectics of Sex*

M.F.K. Fisher—*How to Cook a Wolf*

Henry Watson Fowler—*Modern English Usage*

Roger Fry—*Cezanne: a study of his development*

Northrop Frye—*An Anatomy of Criticism*

Martha Gellhorn—*The Face of War*

Dan Georgakas—*Detroit, I Do Mind Dying*

Paul Goodman—*Growing Up Absurd*

Stephen Jay Gould—*The Mismeasure of Man*

Alex Haley—*The Autobiography of Malcom X*

Alice Hamilton—*Exploring the Dangerous Trades*

E.C.S. Handy and Elizabeth Handy—*Native Planters in Old Hawaii: their life, lore and environment*

Gerald Hanley—*Warriors: life and death among the Somalis*

Eric Hansen—*Stranger in the Forest: on foot across Borneo*

Jane E. Harrison—*Themis: a study in the social origins of Greek religion*

Anthony Heilbut—*The Gospel Sound*

Seymour Hersh—*Kissinger: the price of power*

George Leonard Herter and Berthe Herter—*Bull Cook: authentic recipes and practices*

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Hundred (and a few more)

Christopher Hill—*The World Turned Upside Down*

William Hinton—*Fanshen*

Marion and Katherine Hooker—*Farmhouses and Small Provincial Buildings in Southern Italy*

Myles Horton—*The Long Haul: an autobiography*

Sir Albert Howard—*Agricultural Testiment*

Ivan Illich—*Deschooling Society*

Harold A. Innis—*The Fur Trade in Canada: an introduction to Canadian economic history*

Jane Jacobs—*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*

C.L.R. James—*The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*

Gertrude Jekyll—*Home and Garden*

Ernest Jones—*The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*

Leroi Jones—*Blues People: negro music in white America*

Walter Karp—*Politics of War*

Pauline Kael—*For Keeps: 30 years at the movies*

John Maynard Keynes—*The General Theory of Employment*

F.H. King—*Farmers of 40 Centuries*

Alfred Kinsey—*The Kinsey Reports*

Andrew Kopkind—*The Thirty Years' War*

Frank Kofsky—*Harry Truman and the War Scare of 1948*

John Fire Lame Deer and Richard Erodes—*Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions*

Bernard Leach—*A Potter's Book*

Godfrey D. Lehman—*We the Jury...the impact of jurors on our basic freedoms*

Peter Linebaugh—*The London Hanged*

Albert Bates Lord—*The Singer of Tales*

Norman Maclean—*A River Runs Through It*

Fitzroy McLean—*Eastern Approaches*

Scott McCloud—*Understanding Comics: the invisible art*

Alfred McCoy—*The Politics of Heroin*

Carey McWilliams—*Factories in the Fields: the story of migratory farm labor in California*

Norman Mailer—*Advertisements for Myself*

Dave Marsh—*The Heart of Rock and Soul: the 1001 greatest singles ever made*

Leo Marx—*The Machine in the Garden*

Peter Matthiessen—*In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*

H.L. Mencken—*Prejudices: a selection*

Henry Miller—*The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*

C. Wright Mills—*Listen Yanqui*

Bill Mollison—*Permaculture: a designer's manual*

Edwin Morse—*Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*

Robert Motherwell—*Dada Documents and Manifestoes*

Lewis Mumford—*Technics and Civilization*

J.A.H. Murray, H. Bradley, W.A. Craigie, C.T. Onions (Ed.)—*A New English Dictionary Based on Historical Principles.* (OED)

Paul Oliver—*Blues Fell This Morning*

Robert Palmer—*Deep Blues*

Roger Tory Peterson—*A field guide to the birds*

Kim Philby—*My Silent War*

Karl Polanyi—*The Great Transformation*

Ezra Pound—*ABC of Reading*

Stephen Pyne—*Fire in America*

Charles Ramsey and Harold Sleeper—*Architectural Graphic Standards*

John Reed—*Ten Days That Shook the World*

Daniel Rhodes—*Clay and Glazes for the Potter*

Bertrand Russell—*Autobiography*

Edward Said—*Orientalism*

Nancy Scheper-Hughes—*Death Without Weeping*

G.E.M. de Ste. Croix—*The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*

Lincoln Steffens—*The Shame of the Cities*

Adrian Stokes—*The Stones of Rimini*

George B. Sudworth—*Forest Trees of the Pacific Slope*

Thomas Szasz—*The Myth of Mental Illness*

Ida Tarbell—*The History of Standard Oil*

Keith Thomas—*Religion and the Decline of Magic*

Box Car Bertha Thompson—*Sister of the Road*

E.P. Thompson—*The Making of the English Working Class*

Hunter S. Thompson—*Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*

David Thomson—*A Biographical Dictionary of Film*

Douglas Valentine—*The Phoenix Program*

Thorstein Veblen—*Absentee Ownership*

Robert Venturi—*Learning from Las Vegas*

Rebecca West—*Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*

Edith Wharton and Ogden Codman, Jr.—*The Decoration of Houses*

Raymond Williams—*Keywords*

Terry Tempest Williams—*Refuge: an unnatural history of family and place*

Edmund Wilson—*To the Finland Station*

Geoffrey Wolfe—*Black Sun*

Donald Worster—*Rivers of Empire*

Frances Yates—*The Art of Memory*

H.G. Wells—*An Outline of History*

Gordon Wasson—*Soma: divine mushroom of immortality*

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(OLS, *continued from p. 3)*

town where at that precise moment the street warriors were desperately but successfully preventing delegates from entering the Convention Center and Paramount theater where the opening ceremony was scheduled to taker place. It was touch and go as cops steadily got rougher and the tear gas got thicker. Certainly the arrival of thousands of labor marchers on the scene would have made it much more difficult for the cops to gas, beat and shoot the activists with wooden dowells and rubber bullets. It would have diminished the hundreds of serious injuries sustained by the street warriors.

The labor marchers approached and then... their own marshals turned them back. A few rebellious steelworkers, longshoremen, electrical workers and teamsters did disobey their leaders, push into downtown and join the battle. The main march withdrew in respectable good order and dispersed peacefully to their hotels, where Cooper, Ivins, Moore and the other scriveners began composing their denunciations of the anarcho-trashers who had marred their great event.

Real social movements for change shouldn't be built on illusions, and the self-aggrandisement is far from harmless. Take Medea Benjamin of Global Exchange, an NGO that has made its name on the sweatshop issue, dickering with Nike over the pay rates and factory conditions of its workers in Vietnam, Indonesia and China. Whatever cachet Benjamin might have won by sneaking into a WTO session and being arrested and briefly addressing the delegates was swiftly squandered by her subsequent deeds, defending Niketown. Benjamin and her Global Exchange cohorts stood on the steps of Niketown and sweatshop outlets in downtown Seattle to defend these premises against demonstrators. As Benjamin herself proudly described her shameful conduct to the New York Times: "Here we are protecting Nike, McDonalds, the GAP and all the while I'm thinking, 'Where are the police? These anarchists should have been arrested."

Had they done so, these kids could now be facing up to seven years for "malicious mischief", which is the charge prosecutors in the Northwest are bringing against street activists.

CONGOs (Coopted NGOs)

Aside from the baneful consequences of this on-ground-collusion with the cops, the larger political agenda of the liberals with their myth-making is far from benign either. By falsely proclaiming a victory for peaceful pro-cop protesters, they now can move on under a largely factitious banner of "unity", and hunker down with the government policy makers to rewrite the WTO treaty to their satisfaction. This is the core meaning of co-option, and certainly the writers at the London Economist understand it well enough. In the wake of Seattle the Economist ran a long article discussing the rising power of NGOs, which successfully challenged the World Bank, sank the Multilateral Agreement on Investment and engineered the brilliant anti-landmine campaign. But, the Economist continued, there's hope. "Take the case of the World Bank. The 'Fifty Years is Enough' campaign of 1994 was a prototype of Seattle (complete with activists invading the meeting halls). Now the NGOs are surprisingly quiet about the World Bank. The reason is that the Bank has made a huge effort to coopt them." The Economist went on to describe how World Bank president James Wolfensohn had given the NGOs a seat at the table, and now more than 70 NGO policy wonks work in the Bank's offices world-wide, and half of the bank's projects have some NGO involvement.

The myth-making actively demobilizes radical struggles against the two party status quo, since it pretends that one of the two parties — naturally, the Democrats — can actually be redeemed., Contrast the outlook of Benjamin and the other protectors of corporate property with the attitude of a 34-year old Oregon farmer who found himself in the midst of the downtown protest, was arrested and harshly treated in jail: "To break a window in a retail facility in downtown Seattle is nothing compared to what some of these CEOs are doing daily."

Leave the last words to Jeff Crosby, the president of a union local of International Union of Electrical Workers who flew to Seattle with 15 of his fellow union members from New England. Crosby works at a GE plant, which is about to relocate in Mexico. After he went home, Crosby put up on the web this open letter: "The labor movement basically piggybacked on the courage of the young environmentalists and anti-sweatshop and church activists. Without the direct action, which disrupted the WTO, the labor march would have received a 90-second clip on the nightly news. Again, without the tens of thousands of union members, it would have been easier to write off the young protesters as flakes...The decision by the AFL-CIO not to plan direct action was a mistake. The literature and petition the AFL-CIO used for Seattle was mostly unreadable and unusable, with no edge. Despite some heroic efforts by union folks in Seattle and other places, the AFL-CIO campaign was reminiscent of the 'old' AFL-CIO's campaign against NAFTA — remember 'Not This NAFTA'? If we had run a campaign against the congressional 'Fast Track' vote with 'Not this fast-track', we would have lost that one too. Did anyone really try to bring people to Seattle under the slogan, 'We demand a working group'?

"This is a period when on certain issues, massive, non-violent direct action is in order, as the demonstration in Seattle shows. Every member who went on our trip reports that support for the demonstrations, even with the disruptions, is overwhelming. And not just from other workers in the shop, but family and other friends, regardless of what they do for a living. 'Since we came home, we're being treated like conquering heroes,' marveled on of our group.

"Perhaps the AFL-CIO was driven by policy advisers in Washington who didn't understand how angry people are about this issue... Perhaps they did not want to embarrass Gore. Perhaps Sweeney had an agreement with Clinton to ask for enforceable labor standards. Perhaps they thought that most people would be turned off by civil disobedience, or something else, I don't know. There were plenty of people in the labor movement pushing for the labor movement to join in the direct action — we lost."

Fortunately the street warriors won. CP

"There were plenty of people in the labor movement pushing for labor to join the direct action—we lost." Jeff Crosby, IUE

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(**Good Groups** *continued from page 1)*
driving rain to form a human chain around the Expo Hall, where WTO delegations were set to have dinner with the likes of Bill Gates, Paul Allen and the CEO of Boeing. The event was staged by the good folks at Jubilee 2000, an international coalition building a worldwide movement to cancel the unpayable international debts of the poorest countries. The 41 countries defined by the World Bank as A Heavily Indebted Poor Countries—33 of them in Africa—owe about $220 billion in foreign debts. Each African child inherits about $379 in debt at birth. A child in Nicaragua is born owing over $2,000, while average yearly income there is only $390. Is debt cancellation practical? Sure. Mainly, because there is no way these countries could repay their debts. To reward it for supporting the US in the 1990-91 Gulf War, the U.S. canceled $7 billion owed by Egypt.

School of Americas Watch
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One of the year's great victories (and a much underreported one) came when the Republican-controlled House of Representatives voted to slash funding for the US Army School of Americas, based in Fort Benning, Georgia. This bloodstained institution, more accurately dubbed the School of Assassins, trains Latin American soldiers in combat, counter-insurgency, and counter-narcotics. Graduates of the SOA have been responsible for some of the worst human rights abuses in Latin America. Among the SOA's nearly 60,000 graduates are monsters. SOA Watch is a feisty outfit that seeks to close the US Army School of the Americas through vigils and fasts, demonstrations and nonviolent protest, as well as media and legislative work. This fall School of America's Watch turned out 15,000 at Ft. Benning to protest the training center's butchery. More than, 900 people crossed the property line and faced arrest by military police.

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(425) 258-5345
http://www.ea1.com/CARP/

The last 10 years have seen an unprecedented spate of agribusiness mergers, a trend that has been paralleled by hard times on the family farm. No one covers this emerging crisis like CARP, a lean outfit that seeks to provide a central, accurate and in-depth source of information on corporate agribusiness's economic, social and environmental impacts on family farmers, rural communities, ecosystems and consumers. CARP publishes the indispensable Agribusiness Examiner, edited by A.V. Krebs. The weekly journal provides useful information on mergers, the Farm Bureau, the pr machine of industrial agriculture and farm politics.

Friends of the Wild Swan
PO 5103 Swan Lake, MT 59911
(406) 586-0180

Friends of the Wild Swan is one of most effective and creative grassroots green groups in the nation. Over the past year, they have sued the federal government over the fate of the bull trout and the grizzly bear, exposed the cozy relationship between federal biologists, mainstream conservation organizations and corporate foundations, and led a new campaign on water quality that may put the skids on logging, mining and livestock grazing across vast areas of the Big Sky state. This is another group led by a woman, Arlene Montgomery, who conducts operations from Swan Lake, Montana, a small town at the foot of the rugged Swan Mountains in northwestern Montana. According to the group's cofounder, Steve Kelly, the FOWS is trying to emphasize through organizing and litigation the vital connection aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems. Unlike many groups, they don't hesitat to attack the rapacious practices of private timber companies, such as Plum Creek and Champion International. "Nobody wants to deal with the political reality that the big companies, the multinationals, control what's going on on both public and private lands", Arlene Montgomery tells us. "So groups find it much easier just to deal with the bureaucrats. Not us." They are one of the few groups in Montana that doesn't take money from big foundations like Pew, which means they are free to take a hard line. It also means they don't have a big budget. In fact, for the first time, the Friends had to lay off one of their two staffers, their grizzly bear expert—a loss that may spell bad news for the bears. Your money could make a big difference.

Prison Legal News
2400 NW. 80th Street, #148
Seattle, WA 98117
http://www.prisonlegalnews.org/

Prison Legal News is an excellent paper produced mainly by inmates and their supporters, lawyers, family, advocates, in the "free world." The paper was founded ten years ago by inmate Paul Wright and Ed Meade. Meade was recently released on parole, but as a condition of his parole he was prohibited from having anything to do with Prison Legal News. That says a lot about how much the authorities fear this excellent paper. Wright, an excellent writer and legal scholar, continues to edit the paper from his prison cell in Monroe, Washington. We are grateful to Wright for tipping us to several important stories in the past couple of years. On the outside, Fred Markham manages the production of PLN from his small office in Seattle. Prisoners across the country pay $15 a year to receive cutting edge reports on prison conditions and legal strategies. They giveaway free issues to inmates on Death Row and in Maximum Security. Outsiders in the free world pay $25 a year. Except for lawyers, who are hit up for a little more. And Paul Wright says that he will send a free sample to anyone who asks. The Prison Legal News team is strapped for cash. According to Markham a recent fundraiser didn't exactly strike a gold mine. There is no more worthy organization to send a check to.

Ruckus Society
2054 University Ave. 204
Berkeley, CA 94704
http://www.ruckus.org/

These are folks who produced the direct action protests and street theater in Seattle that drove the police into a state of frenzy and the WTO back to Geneva. Founded in 1995 by Mike Roselle, a founder of Earth First!, the Ruckus Society has turned nonviolent civil disobedience into performance art. On the surface (and the TV cameras) it looks chaotic, but in fact the actions are painstakingly planned, from execution, to legal aid

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and medical aide, to exploitation of media. Months of training at Ruckus camps in the US and British Columbia went into the planning from the WTO protests. The Ruckus Society has attracted some of the most militant and savvy environmental activists in North America, many of whom left behind organizations such as Greenpeace which they believed had gone soft. No softness here.

Organic Consumers Association
6114 Highway 61
Little Marais, Minnesota 55614
(218) 226-4164
http//:www.purefood.org

The OCA and its Purefoods campaign is waging a creative and relentless war against genetically engineered foods and industrial/chemical agriculture. The OCA's director, Ronnie Cummins, who learned his organizing skills in the civil rights movement, is Monsanto's chief pain in the ass. Cummins isn't afraid to attack corporation or their Washington politicians, including the Clinton administration. "One of the big fights will be for strict organic standards" Cummins told us. "In early December, we turned out more than 1,000 in Oakland on FDA on hearings on GE foods. Our message is don't label, take them off the market, like they did in Europe." The OCA publishes two excellent online newsletters, BioDemocracy and Organic View, which goes out for free to. 20,000 electronic subscribers. Commins predicts that in the coming year the Clinton administration will put into place "misleading labeling for irradiated food, issue unsatisfactory organic standards and try to coopt the movement against genetically engineered foods." With the uncompromising OCA around, that strategy won't be that easy to pull off.

Students United Against Sweatshops
1413 K St. NW 9th Floor
Washington, DC 20005
202 393-5886
http://www.umich.edu/~sole/usassy1/index.html

These days much of the energy behind the anti-sweatshop movement is coming off of college campuses through a group called Students United Against Sweatshops. These college students fighting against sweatshops continue to score victories as the giant apparel companies that make university logo T-shirts and sweatshirts give in to student demands and promise to list factory locations. Earlier this year they forced Nike to publish a list of 40 factories on its web site (www.nikebiz.com). And now Champion, Russell, Gear for Sports and Jansport have agreed to disclose factory locations by January 1, 2000. "We believe that university standards should be brought in line with those of its students, who demand that their school's logo is emblazoned on clothing made in decent working conditions," said Erik Brakken.

New West Research
P.O. Box 9125
Santa Fe, NM 87504
http://www.new-west-research.org/

Every year a little known federal program called Animal Damage Control slaughters millions of coyotes, mountain lions, hawks, bobcats and other wildlife at the request of ranchers. New West Research has exposed the carnage of this program. It is largely a one-woman show, but a powerful one. New West Research is run by Pat Wolff, a skillful investigator and a fearless organizer, who has faced death threats for her exposés of the violent fringes of the anti-environmental movement in the Southwest. Wolff tells us that in the next year she expects to complete investigations into hidden government subsidies to industrial rancers and beef producers in Colorado and New Mexico. A little money goes a long way here. Checks should be made out to NWR's fiscal sponsor, the Zuni Mountain Coalition.

Adbusters Media Foundation
1243 West 7th Avenue
Vancouver, BC
V6H 1B7 Canada
1.800.663.1243
http://www.adbusters.org/

Maybe you've seen their spoof ads: e.g., the one titled Big Mac Attack, showing a heart surgeons operating on an obese patient. Adbusters represents a global network of artists, writers, students, educators and entrepreneurs who want to launch the new social activist movement of the information age. "Ultimately, Adbusters is an ecological magazine, dedicated examining the relationship between human beings and their physical and mental environment," says Kalle Lasn, editor of Adbusters' magazine. "We want a world in which the economy and ecology resonate in balance. We try to coax people from apathy to participant in this quest. We want folks to get mad corporate disinformation and injustices in the global economy, and ads that pollute our physical or mental commons." Adbusters has also started the Power Shift Advocacy project, which helps non-profit groups develop their own advertising and public relations campaigns. CP

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